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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
ASSISTANT SECRETARY

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November 15, 1962

TO : The Secretary

THROUGH: S/S

FROM : IO - Harlan Cleveland

SUBJECT: Presidential Statement on Our Non-Invasion Guarantee

DENY

One feature of the meeting this morning which caused me great concern was the inclination to have the President spell out at his press conference November 20 the nature of our non-invasion guarantee of Cuba. I fully recognize that given the wide spread public interest in this question and other administration statements which have already been made that further public clarification will be desirable at the appropriate time. However, as I am sure you realize, this guarantee constitutes 50 percent of our bargaining counter with the Soviet Union in getting their full compliance with the agreement as defined in the President's letter to Khrushchev of October 27.

This seems particularly important because the degree of conditionality which we attach to our guarantee should prove a highly important aspect of the final solution of the Cuban problem considering that Khrushchev has sold his withdrawal of missiles to the masses in the Communist world on the basis that they were no longer needed in view of the US guarantee against invasion, studiously avoiding any mention of provisos. If we do not get what we consider a fair deal on withdrawal of offensive weapons and assurances against their reintroduction we always have open the possibility of so conditioning our guarantee against non-invasion that the Soviets would be placed in a difficult position. In short, we should continue to use this weapon for the maximum bargaining advantage we can obtain. Therefore, I firmly believe that any spelling out at this time of our non-invasion guarantee should be done in private negotiations with the Soviet Union, preferably in further discussions that we will be having in New York.

This is not to say that in due course there should not be a public exposé of our attitude toward the guarantee. In fact, I am assuming that in the Security Council session which winds up the Soviet-US aspects of the problem, we would issue a full statement of which any non-invasion pledge would constitute one basic ingredient. But until agreement on that point is reached, I urge that we continue to play it cosy as far as any further public delineation of our views on this subject is concerned.

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